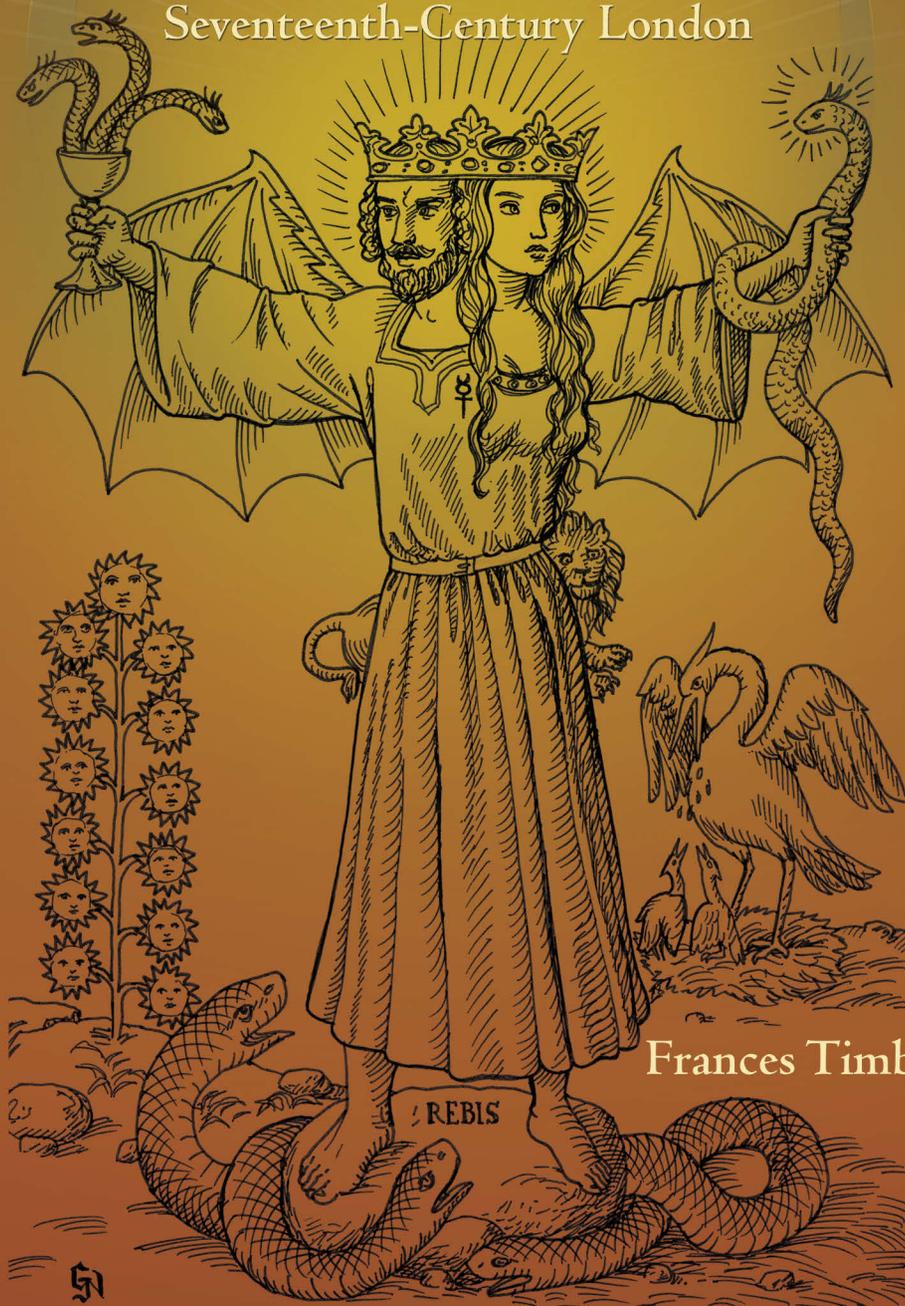


THE
Magical
Adventures
OF Mary Parish

The Occult World of
Seventeenth-Century London



Frances Timbers

Habent sua fata libelli

EARLY MODERN STUDIES SERIES

GENERAL EDITOR

MICHAEL WOLFE
QUEENS COLLEGE, CUNY

EDITORIAL BOARD OF EARLY MODERN STUDIES

ELAINE BEILIN
Framingham State College

RAYMOND A. MENTZER
University of Iowa

CHRISTOPHER CELENZA
Johns Hopkins University

ROBERT V. SCHNUCKER
Truman State University, Emeritus

BARBARA B. DIEFENDORF
Boston University

NICHOLAS TERPSTRA
University of Toronto

PAULA FINDLEN
Stanford University

MARGO TODD
University of Pennsylvania

SCOTT H. HENDRIX
Princeton Theological Seminary

JAMES TRACY
University of Minnesota

JANE CAMPBELL HUTCHISON
University of Wisconsin–Madison

MERRY WIESNER-HANKS
University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee

MARY B. MCKINLEY
University of Virginia

THE
Magical
Adventures
OF Mary Parish
The Occult World of
Seventeenth-Century London

Frances Timbers



Early Modern Studies 16
Truman State University Press
Kirksville, Missouri

Copyright © 2016 Truman State University Press, Kirksville, Missouri, 63501

All rights reserved

tsup.truman.edu

No part of this work may be reproduced or transmitted in any format by any means without written permission from the publisher.

Cover art: Gordon Napier, Alchemy woodcut. Used with permission.

Cover design: Theresa Wheeler

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Timbers, Frances.

The magical adventures of Mary Parish : the occult world of
seventeenth-century London / by Frances Timbers.

pages cm. -- (Early modern studies ; 17)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-61248-143-2 (library binding : alk. paper) — ISBN 978-1-61248-144-9
(e-book) 1. Parish, Mary Tomson Boucher Lawrence. 2. Wharton, Goodwin, 1653-1704.
3. Women mediums—England—Biography. 4. Spiritualism—England—History—17th
century. 5. Occultism—England—History—17th century. I. Title.

BF1283.P376T56 2016

130.92--dc23

[B]

2015031164

The paper in this publication meets or exceeds the minimum requirements of the American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48–1992.

*This one is for Estuary, whose unflagging faith in the
"Mary project" helped to magically manifest this book.*

Contents

Illustrations	ix
Acknowledgments	xi
Prologue	3
Chapter 1: Down the Rabbit Hole	5
Chapter 2: A Cunning Woman	12
Chapter 3: The Queen of the Fairies	34
Chapter 4: Finding a Familiar	55
Chapter 5: Matters of Marriage	71
Chapter 6: Sex and Succession	91
Chapter 7: The Pleasures of Venus and the Pains of Eve	100
Chapter 8: The Traumas of Treasure Hunting	118
Chapter 9: Heavenly Hosts	136
Chapter 10: Mary's Crucible	148
Chapter 11: Plots and Piety	167
Epilogue: April 1703	179
Appendix: A Timeline of Mary's Life	187
Bibliography	191
Index	205
About the Author	211

Illustrations

1. The village of Turville, nestled in the Chiltern hills (photo by author). 13
2. Seventeenth-century timber-framed cottage in the village of Turville
(photo by author). 13
3. “A Table to Know what Planet Rules any Hour of Day or Night throughout
the Year,” adapted from BL Sloane 3850, fol. 163v. 23
4. “Sedan Chair, ca. 1720,” from William Hogarth, *The Rake’s Progress*
(London: J. Chettwood, 1735), plate IV. 25
5. “London, as Rebuilt after the Fire,” from Besant, *The History of London*, 193. . . 26
6. Parishes of Turville and Wooburn in the Three Hundreds of Chiltern,
Buckinghamshire, from *The Victoria History of the County of Buckingham*, Vol.
3, ed. W. Page (London: St. Catherine Press, 1925), 32. Accessed via www.british-history.ac.uk. Image courtesy of Victoria County History, British
History Online, and the Institute of Historical Research. 31
7. Illustration from the trade card of John Keeling of Blackfriars (1670s),
showing his fire engine in use. Inscription reads “These Engines (which
are the best) to quinch great fires, are . . .” with the subtitle “John Keeling
Fecit” [John Keeling made it]. From display in Museum of London, copy
from Pepys Library in Magdalene College, Cambridge. 33
8. The road from London through Old Brantford and Hounslow to Longford,
from “The Road from London to the city of Bristol,” in John Ogilby,
Britannia. London 1675 (Facsimile reprint, Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis
Terrarum, 1970), Plate #11 between pp. 20 and 21. Image courtesy of
the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto, Rare Book
F-10 00695. 38
9. King and Queen of Fairies, from R. S., *A description of the king and queene of
fayries* (London, 1635). Bodleian Library, University of Oxford,
Shelfmark Arch. A f.83 (3). 44
10. Lud Gate, from a seventeenth-century map of London, originally
started by Wenceslaus Hollar, ca. 1690. 57
11. Tyburn Tree, detail from William Hogarth, *The Idle ’Prentice Executed at
Tyburn*, engraving, 1747, plate 11 of his *Industry and Idleness* series. 62

12. A plaque at the site of Tyburn (photo by author). 62

13. St. Mary’s Church, Turville (photo by author).. 75

14. Stillroom, frontispiece from Hannah Woolley, *The Accomplish’d Lady’s Delight in Preserving, Physick, Beautifying, and Cookery*, 4th ed. (London, 1684). Image courtesy of Houghton Library, Harvard University, Hollis number 003910462.. 150

15. An Alchemical Laboratory, frontispiece from M. M. Pattison Muir, *The Story of Alchemy and the Beginnings of Chemistry* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1913). Originally published in Michael Maier’s *Tripus Aureus, hoc est, Tres Tractatus Chymici Selectissimi, nempe* (Frankfurt a. M.: Lucas Jennis, 1618). Released by Project Gutenberg, eBook #14218, November 30, 2004. 151

16. Halley’s Diving Bell, from William Hooper, *Rational Recreations . . .* (London, 1774). Wellcome Images. 163

17. Seventeenth-century map of London, originally started by Wenceslaus Hollar, ca. 1690. 184–85

Acknowledgments

The greatest debt I owe is to Mary Tomson Boucher Lawrence Parish, whose story inspired me to push past many obstacles to present her life to the world. Her determination and creativity are truly inspiring! The story of Mary's life presented in the following pages is an outgrowth of my dissertation work on gender and ceremonial magic at the University of Toronto, from which I received a great deal of support over the years. I can never repay the friendship and scholarly input of the "Norns," in the form of Barbara Todd and Ariel Beaujot, who invested many hours of their time in discussion, debate, and beer drinking during the birthing of "the Mary project." A very special thanks to my student Calin Wallace for his insightful analysis of one of the earlier versions of the manuscript. Thanks to the participants in the workshop held at the Berkshire Conference on the History of Women in June 2008 for their feedback on my presentation of Mary's life as biography. The helpful comments from the two anonymous TSUP readers were also much appreciated. I am very grateful for the academic and financial support from the History Department at Trent University and CUPE Local 3908-1, during the years of bringing this project to fruition. Special mention to Truman State University Press's Early Modern Studies series editor Michael Wolfe for his enthusiastic reception of the original manuscript, and to Barbara Smith-Mandell for her ongoing support and direction during the publishing process. And much love to my small but fierce inner circle of family and friends, who never fail to support me, even when they think I am as crazy as Mary!

Samhain 2015

In order to enter into Mary's world, the reader may sometimes need to temporarily suspend disbelief. Mary's story is akin to Alice's journey through the looking glass, in which the real world is mirrored for both her and us. The following narrative invites the reader to pass through the looking glass and enter a liminal world between fantasy and reality, as Mary leads us through the streets of London and down the rabbit hole.

Prologue

April 18, 1703

The sweet, cinnamon scent of juniper hung in the air. A fire crackled in the grate against the damp chill of an English spring. Wax candles burned brightly all around the room, creating a warm glow despite the morose occasion. Green velvet curtains were tied back at each of the round pillars of a richly carved oak bedstead and a fringed valance framed the elaborate headboard. A silk quilt lay folded at the foot of the bed.¹ Several women and one desolate man stood around the bed gazing on the peaceful face of the just-deceased woman.

Mary Tomson Boucher Lawrence Parish had outlived her parents, her uncle, her three husbands, and most of her children, and was estranged from any remaining blood relatives. For the past week, her female friends had taken turns holding vigil around her bed. Throughout her illness, her companions had supported her both physically and spiritually, offering words of consolation and encouragement while they fussed and chatted. For the eight days that she had lain in the bed, she had refused any sustenance, only drinking a little water when coaxed. A few hours before her death, an Anglican priest had offered her last communion. She had barely had the strength to swallow the consecrated bread. Now there was nothing left to do but quietly escort her life partner, Goodwin Wharton, out of the room. The weeping man was distraught, but he could be comforted

1. After Goodwin's death, an inventory was taken of his house on Denmark Street. Mary and Goodwin would have maintained separate bedrooms for the sake of appearances. I like to think that one of the rooms up two pair of stairs was Mary's. It contained "One bedstead wth a Sett of green Cloath Curtains & Vallance," as well as pillows and quilts, including two of silk. TNA, PROB 32/46/3, Inventory of the Goods & Chattells of the Hou^{ble} Col. Goodwin Wharton . . . dated November 21 and 22, 1704.

to know that Mary had died a “good death,” surrounded by family and friends, while she graciously surrendered her life to God.

After Goodwin left, the women removed Mary’s nightclothes, unfolding her body out of the fetal position that she had maintained throughout her final days. They sponged her body with warm water scented with sprigs of rosemary to protect against evil and dressed her in a simple shift of clean linen. When they finished, Mary’s corpse lay in serene state, her head propped up on feather pillows and her arms crossed over her chest.

After the women finished their duties, Goodwin was allowed to re-enter the room. The grief for his companion of twenty years was held at bay only by the fear that the women might have noticed Mary’s condition as they washed and prepared her body for burial. The nurse, whom Goodwin had hired to attend her during her illness, reported that the body was “clean,” meaning that there were no signs of the small pustules that signaled smallpox. Of course, the woman would not have suspected that Mary could be pregnant at her age and would not have actively looked for any evidence to that effect. But what if their child was still alive and had moved in the womb while the women attended to Mary’s body?

Goodwin pulled back the bed linens and tentatively lifted her shift, laying his hands tenderly on her abdomen.² As he palpated her belly, he could swear that he heard her groan. Was it possible that she was speaking to him from beyond the grave as she had promised? No, it was just his imagination, or perhaps it was his longing to hear her voice one more time. But there was no need to worry. Mary must have starved the child in her womb so that she could take their secret to the grave. Goodwin believed that Mary had maintained a fetal position “least the child should come out & discover us: from which posture I would not let her be moved and so continued till the boy died in her belly.”³

As Goodwin stared at the body of this woman he loved, he was reminded of their first meeting. Goodwin had approached Mary in order to obtain a “play piece,” a lucky charm that would bring him luck in gambling and help him out of his financial straits. Little did he suspect that his desire for luck at gambling would lead to a lifelong association with this remarkable woman.

2. *Autobiography of Goodwin Wharton*, 1:181.

3. *Ibid.*

Chapter 1

Down the Rabbit Hole

In a Wonderland they lie,
Dreaming as the days go by,
Dreaming as the summers die:

Ever drifting down the stream—
Lingering in the golden gleam—
Life, what is it but a dream?

—Lewis Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*

Goodwin had good reason to consider Mary remarkable, although her contemporaries might not have found her as extraordinary as you, no doubt, will. On many levels, Mary was a typical woman living in seventeenth-century London: she was married and widowed three times, she gave birth to many children, and she skillfully employed a variety of strategies to survive in a harsh, patriarchal world. On one level, Mary's story illuminates the early modern ideologies and practices surrounding education, marriage, childbirth, and women's work. Her narrative also provides insight on contemporary politics and popular religious beliefs. While Mary lived with one foot on *terra firma*, she used her powerful imagination to construct an alternate world, which granted her the ability to transform not only her own life, but also the life of Goodwin Wharton. By modern standards, Mary might be seen as a con artist who attempted to use a member of the aristocracy for personal gain. But rather than condemning Mary as a scam artist, consider the more fruitful notion that she was an extremely resourceful woman who engaged Goodwin in an alternative world that established new points of reference in both their lives. In order to do so,

she drew on contemporary religious and political issues, as well as her past and present life experiences and emotions. The narrative of Mary's life requires a different understanding of truth.

A comprehensive historical biography of Mary would require extensive archival evidence such as legal records, wills, letters, and personal journals. But like thousands of the middling sort, Mary left few traces of her life in the archives. Her story is known almost exclusively through the narrative she told later in her life to her partner, Goodwin Wharton, who recorded it in a tediously detailed, five-hundred-page journal.¹ There is very little other documentation to verify the details of Goodwin's journal or his opinion of Mary's activities.

During the course of their relationship, Mary and Goodwin co-constructed the story of Mary's life. The telling and retelling of various incidents that occurred both before and after they met reflected both their past and current concerns. However, the details of Mary's personal history are questionable for several reasons. First, Mary was more than fifty years old when she unraveled her life to Goodwin, making her story subject to forgetfulness and the fabrication of memory. Secondly, Mary's version of events was constructed for Goodwin's benefit, so only certain aspects of her life were featured. Thirdly, Mary's past was filtered by Goodwin; we do not have Mary's voice. To further complicate things, Goodwin did not start his journal until 1685, two years after they met. We don't always know how much time elapsed between Mary's recounting and Goodwin's recording. Mary's story is subject to Goodwin's misunderstanding and muddling of details. And Goodwin was not writing for his own personal documentation. He started the journal for Peregrine, the first surviving son he had with Mary, "resolving (with God's assistance to continue so to do) to leave it you as the greatest and best of the earthly legacies I can bequeath."² A father might elaborate on a mother's successes and downplay her failures, but Goodwin tended to be as open about Mary's shortcomings as he was about her accomplishments. In addition, the historian ultimately decides what is important and what should be included or excluded. In any case, no personal narrative can be taken as complete or unbiased truth. Histori-

1. Although Goodwin starts by writing his autobiography to date, the manuscript continues as a daily journal. Quotations from his journal (BL Add. MS 20006 and 20007, 2 vols.) are from my own transcriptions and I cite page numbers that were added by Goodwin rather than folio numbers.

2. Autobiography of Goodwin Wharton, 1:1.

ans such as Natalie Zemon Davis support the value of the study of narratives, without judgment as to whether they are fact or fiction. Davis argues that the narratives that a person constructs about her life experiences give the person's life meaning.³ In a discussion of cultural history versus social history, she points out that "all accounts are shaped into stories," including the historian's. For the most part, I am accepting Mary's account of her life, as recorded through the lens of Goodwin, as an extension of her magical activities. Her story was, no doubt, embroidered. But her narrative provides insight into the social norms, belief systems, and attitudes toward magic in seventeenth-century England.

The scenarios associated with Mary's life challenge twenty-first-century sensibilities because they lie outside the normal parameters of modern experience. For this reason, Mary has been accused by modern historians of being an "unscrupulous medium" and "a fraud" who purposely tricked Goodwin.⁴ But there is no reason to assume that Goodwin was particularly gullible in accepting Mary's adventures as truth. After all, Mary did not fabricate the existence of the spirit realm she explored; it was integral to early modern culture. The existence of a spirit realm was generally accepted in a ubiquitously Christian society. Mary was just struggling to understand how it might operate. A society's beliefs reflect what the majority accepts as truth, which enables the society's ideologies. Keep in mind that the belief in God and angels is still prevalent in the twenty-first century. Empirical evidence does not come into play in the arena of belief systems.⁵

Mary's life provides an example of the early modern magical worldview, which included the possibility of interaction with an alternative realm of spirits. In the mid-twentieth century, anthropologists and other scholars challenged previous definitions of magic that were expressed in relation to religion and science. Based on their studies of "primitive" cultures, they suggested that magic was a worldview rather than a practice. They argued that the cultures they studied—which existed outside of the Western Judeo-Christian world—were connected

3. Davis, *Fiction in the Archives*, 4, 29, 43.

4. See Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 189, 237, 611; Porter, "Wharton, Goodwin (1653–1704)," *DNB (Dictionary of National Biography)*. Owen Davies's opinion of Mary is notable by her absence from his monograph on English cunning folk: *Cunning-Folk*.

5. Reynolds, *Becoming Criminal*, 7–8.

Index

Bold indicates an illustration or image.

A

- Abab, Mr., 155–56, 158–59
Agrippa, 22, 65, 72
alchemy, 148–51, **150**
 Goodwin as alchemist, 152
 and Jews, 156
 Mary as alchemist, 81, 154–55, 158,
 162, 170
 and Prince Rupert, 153
 spiritual alchemy, 8–9
angels, 35, 108, 114, 137–47
 Ahab, 139–40, 144, 147, 155–56
 and diving, 164–65
 Gabriel, 140–42, 144, 167, 178
 and Goodwin, 112, 167, 171, 173,
 179
 Michael, 116, 140–41
 and pregnancy, 102
 Uriel, 118, 138–40
Anne (queen of England), 98, 173
Armstrong, Sir Thomas, 170
Arundel Buildings, 54
astrology, **23**
 and alchemy, 161
 and charms, 21–23, 27, 50, 72
 and conception, 105
 and hidden treasure, 119
 and magic, 19–20
 and medicine, 14, 140
 and prognostication, 54, 66, 81

B

- Bacon, Francis, 40n21, 149
Baxter, Richard, 35, 56, 136–37

- Bodenham, Anne, 18
Bottom, Mrs., 82–88, 90
Boucher, Mr. (1st husband of MP), 56,
72–77, 81, 88, 128

C

- Campbell, Archibald (9th Earl of Argyll),
163, 165
Carleton, Mary, 113–14
Catherine of Braganza (wife of Charles II),
46n35, 47, 120, 156
Catholicism
 in England, 17, 28–29, 45, 55, 72,
 120, 165, 168–70
 and exorcism, 126
 and George, 60
 and Mary, 30, 45–46, 75, 114,
 142–43, 167
 and spirit world, 43–45, 48, 93, 168
Cavendish, Margaret (Duchess of Newcas-
tle), 65
Charles I (king of England), 29, 119
Charles II (king of England), 68, 160, 162
 and alchemy, 154, 172
 and bastards, 46
 and Catholicism, 28–29, 169–70
 and Jews, 156
charms
 and astrology, 22, 72
 and gambling, 20–22, 28, 50
 and healing, 15, 143
 and love, 72, 84, 99, 112
 See also talismans
Clayton, Robert, 54, 66, 158n21

Clinton, Elizabeth (Countess of Lincoln), 88
 Cox, John, 14
 Cox, Mary (née Butler), 14
 Crockford, Frances, 89
 Crooke, Helkiah, 100–101, 105
 Culpeper, Nicholas, 49, 51, 132, 135
 cunning craft, 14, 66, 72, 79, 143, 145
 and divination, 65, 81
 and gambling, 94
 and healing, 14–17
 and religion, 14–15
 and treasure hunting, 119
 and witchcraft, 18, 40

D

debts
 and debtor's prison, 56–58, 77–79, 88
 and Goodwin, 32, 106, 142–43, 146, 160, 176
 Dee, John, 118, 139, 140n14, 144
 Defoe, Daniel
 on childbearing, 101, 103–4
 on Hackney schools for girls, 73
 demons, 55, 136–37, 141
 and alchemy, 148
 and exorcism, 17–18
 fairies as, 35–36, 43
 as succubi/incubi, 93
 and treasure hunting, 126–27
 and witchcraft, 40–41
 demoniacs, 17–18
 Denmark Street, 175, 179, 181
 diving projects, Goodwin and, 109, 115, 162–65, **163**

E

education of girls, 72–74, 77
 Elliott, Colonel Roger, 181
 Exclusion Crisis, 169, 172
 exorcism. *See under* demons

F

fairies (Lowlanders), 43, **44**
 beliefs about, 39, 49

Fryar, Father, 43, 46–47, 49, 50, 93, 103, 124–25, 159, 162
 Goodwin and, 35–36, 47–48, 51–53, 93–94
 invisibility of, 49–51, 125
 king of, 42–43, 46–48, 51–52, 71–72, 91, 95–96, 121
 LaGard, Penelope (queen), 47, 51–53, 71, 94–98, 102, 112, 159
 LaPerle, Ursula (princess), 96–99, 107, 113, 134
 Mary and, 34, 37, 39, 41–49, 53
 methods for summoning, 36–37
 Plymouth, Duchess of, 99, 173
 religion of, 43–46, 168
 Shashbesh, Thomas, 131
 familiars, 40, 55–56, 63, 120, 124, 135–37, 170. *See also* Whitmore, George
 Fawkes, Guy, and Gunpowder Plot, 168–69
 Ficino, Marsilio, on power of the will, 8
 fire engines, 32–33, **33**
 Flamel, Nicholas, 156
 Floyd, Lady, 154
 Forman, Simon, 119

G

Galenic medicine, 15–16
 gambling, 20–21, 30, 32, 34, 94, 119, 131
 and charms, 20–22, 28, 50
 Garroll, Mr., 121, 153
 Gartwrott, Anne, 113, 172
 Gay, Cecilia, 116
 George (familiar spirit). *See* Whitmore, George
 Glorious Revolution, 173
 Glover, Henry, 28, 34
 Greenhill, Elizabeth, 101
 grimoires, 19–20
 Mary's *grimoire*, 19–20, 67, 70, 72, 78, 122, 152, 158
 recipes/instructions in, 20, 50, 122–23, 126–27, 137–38
 Gunpowder Plot, 168–69

H

- Hackney school. *See* education of girls
 Harrison, John, 181n5
 Henrietta Maria (wife of Charles I), 120
 Hounslow Heath, 37, **38**, 39, 169, 179
 fairy (Lowlander) kingdom at, 41–43,
 46–47, 51–52, 97, 99, 129, 162,
 173
 and treasure hunting, 121–22,
 125–27, 131, 179
 visits of Mary and Goodwin to,
 51–53, 71–72, 81, 91, 171, 176

I

- imagination, power of, 5, 8–10, 64–65, 99
 and conception, 105, 110
 Ivy, Lady Theodosia, 114–15, 164

J

- James I (king of England; James VI of
 Scotland), 168
 on fairies, 35, 42–43
 James II (king of England), 115, 147, 160,
 169–70, 172–74
 Jonson, Ben, 94, 151

K

- Kingsbury, Anne, 123
 Knowles, Hezekiah. *See* Wharton, Heze-
 kiah

L

- Laud, William (archbishop of Canterbury),
 119–20, 136
 Lawrence, Mr. (2nd husband of MP),
 78–82, 88–90, 96, 119, 152
 Lilly, William, 35, 119, 123
 Lloyd, Talbot, 181
 Lockheart, Jane, 181
 Long Acre, 21, 27, 106, 130, 142, **184**
 Ludgate Prison, **57**, 57–59, **184**
 Mary in, 56–60, 65, 78–79

M

- macrocosm/microcosm, 21
 magic, 19, 21, 36, 55, 65, 119, 137, 139
 and alchemy, 148
 charms, 22, 72, 99
 circles, 20, 137
 and familiars, 56, 63
 Mary and, 20, 22, 28, 63, 65, 72, 99,
 122, 126, 138, 143, 146, 176,
 182
 and religion, 8, 14, 18, 28–29, 45–46,
 126, 137–38, 143
 and scrying, 140
 wands, 122
 and worldview, 7–8, 10
 magical realism, 10
 Margaret (Countess of Henneberg), 108
 marriage, 79, 87, 114
 age of girls at, 76
 and Mary, 72–87
 and social/economic status, 14,
 29–30, 76, 92, 131
 and widows, 77, 79, 82–83, 92–93,
 23n34
 Mary II (queen of England), 98, 165, 173
 Mary Beatrice of Modena (consort of
 James II), 115, 147, 172
 Maubray, Thomas, 105
 medicine. *See* physic
 menstruation, 53, 97–98
 age of ceasing, 100–101
 customs related to, 51, 139
 Monmouth's Rebellion, 160, 162, 170–71
 Moorfields, 64, 69, 90, 179, **185**
 N
 natural philosophy, 21, 105, 148, 154
 and science, 14
 Neville, Henry (5th Earl of Westmorland),
 118–19
 Newgate Prison, 59–60, **185**
 Nurse, Mrs., 39–40
 O
 Oates, Titus, 146n31, 169

Oliver, Mr., 16
 Osborne, Lady Dorothy, 73, 158n21
 Osborne, Thomas (1st Earl of Danby),
 73n4

P

Paracelsus, 15, 35–36, 137, 161
 Parish, Mary
 as alchemist, 81, 131, 152–62
 and business, 67, 77–79
 childhood of, 12–14, 37, 132
 children of, 88–90, 101–10, 182
 as cunning woman, 14–23, 27, 66, 72,
 81, 119, 122, 143, 176
 encounters with angels, 9, 102, 108,
 112, 138–47, 164, 167–68
 encounters with demons, 12, 17–18,
 40, 126–27, 136, 141
 encounters with fairies, 34, 37, 39,
 41–49, 53
 marriages of, 72–87
 practice of physic, 14–16, 51, 54, 65,
 78, 84, 91, 97, 112, 129, 154,
 177
 pregnancies of, 4, 85, 89, 100–110,
 138, 182
 religion of, 3, 45, 75, 143, 167–68
 and spiritual alchemy, 9
 Parish, Thomas (3rd husband of MP),
 81–88, 91, 177
 Parish, Thomas (son of MP), 86, 90
 Partridge, Mr., 17
 pawning, 24, 28, 54, 66–67, 70, 87, 102,
 159, 176
 Pepys, Samuel, 73
 Philosopher's Stone, 131, 148, 153, 158,
 162
 physic, 14–16, 22–24, 97, 149, 150
 and fairies, 91, 97
 impostume (abcess), 129
 Mary's practice of, 14–16, 51, 54, 78,
 83–84, 112, 152, 154, 177
 practitioners of, 23, 66
 treatments, 15–16, 96, 129, 132, 135
 Pico della Mirandola, Giovanni, on power
 of the will, 8
 Popish Plot, 146n31, 169–70

wprisons
 Ludgate Prison, **57**, 58–59, 65, **184**
 Newgate Prison, 59–60, **185**
 Protestantism
 in England, 17, 29, 45, 48, 69, 72,
 136, 142, 166, 170
 and magic, 29
 and Mary, 45
 and the spirit world, 167–68
 providence, 153, 165–66

R

Raleigh, Walter, 154
 Ramsey, David, 119
 Ratcliff, 131–33, 162, 179, **185**
 Reynalde, Thomas, 104–5
 Rogers, Thomas, 94
 Rupert, Prince, 81, 114, 120–21, 153
 Rye House Plot, 159, 170

S

St. Giles-in-the-Fields, 61, 89, 175, **185**
 St. James's Park, 37, 129–30, 132, 134,
 172, **185**
 Scot, Reginald, 56, 68, 72, 122
 scrying, 137–40, 142, 167
 Seymour, Mrs., 70
 Shakespeare, William
 fairies in *Midsummer Night's Dream*, 94
 Sharp, Jane, 100–101, 105
 Shirburn Castle, 96
 Shire Lane, 33, 54, 176, **184**
 Stonor family, 45–46
 succubus, 93

T

talismans, 20–22, 27–28, 144
 theurgy, 137
 Tobermory, 162–63
 Toft, Mary, 109–10
 Tomson, John (uncle of MP), 14, 18–19,
 72, 78, 88, 90
 Tomson, Mr. (father of MP), 14, 73–75
 Tonge, Israel, 146n31, 169
 Travell, Thomas, 164–65

treasure

buried, 36, 118, 129–30, 136–37
 sunken, 164–65

treasure hunting, 14, 114, 118–35, 153,
 160, 179–80

and cunning people, 14, 39, 55–56,
 81

sites of, 129–30

Hounslow Heath, 121–22, 125–27,
 131, 179

Ratcliff, 131–33, 162, 179

St. James's Park, 129–30, 132

Turville, 12, **13**, 14, 19, 29, **31**, 39, 45,
 74–75, 127

Twisden, Sir Thomas, 87–88

Tyburn, 60–63, **62**

V

Villiers, George (2nd Duke of Bucking-
 ham), 54, 110, 158–59, 161

W

Wallbank, Mr., 119

wand, 93, 123–26

Watts, Ann, 122

West, Richard, 127

Wharton, Goodwin

and alchemy, 152

and debts, 32, 106, 142–43, 146, 160,
 176

and diving, 109, 115, 162–65

and fire engines, 32–33

and gambling, 20–22, 28, 32, 34

family background of, 29–31

political career of, 167, 170–71,
 174–75, 180

relationship with father, 30–31, 107,
 113, 144, 146–47, 167, 171, 178,
 180

Wharton, Henry (brother of GW), 111,
 174

Wharton, Hezekiah (son of MP and GW),
 107–8, 180–82

Wharton, Jane Goodwin (mother of GW),
 29–30

Wharton, Peregrine (son of MP and GW),
 6, 103–4, 180, 182

Wharton, Philip (4th baron; father of
 GW), 29–31, 144, 146, 171–72,
 175–76

Wharton, Thomas (brother of GW), 30,
 111, 175

Whitmore, George, 47, 136, 179

and Goodwin, 67–69, 170

imprisonment and execution of,
 59–64

as Mary's familiar spirit, 58–69,
 71, 78, 91, 94, 102, 113, 121,
 123–25, 157, 159, 162, 168

Wilder, Mrs., 111–13

Wildman, John, 159–62, 170–71

William III, 98, 165, 173–74

Williams, Thomas, 154–57, 172

Wilmot, John (2nd Earl of Rochester), 56,
 110

witch, witches, 14, 18, 39–41, 55, 120, 137

witchcraft, 8, 14, 17–18, 21, 35,

39–41, 94, 118, 174, 178

and Mary, 17–18, 39–41, 178

Wolsey, Cardinal Thomas, 130–31

women

and childbirth, 103–4

as cunning women, 14–15, 18, 40,
 145

education of, 72–74, 77

marriage of, 74, 76, 79, 83, 93

pregnancy and conception

and age of women, 100–101

early modern ideas about, 65,

100–101, 104–5, 109–10

multiple conceptions (superfeta-
 tion), 101–2, 106–9

widows, 23n34, 77, 79, 82–83, 93

Wooburn Manor, 29–31, **31**, 107, 147,
 171, 175–76, 178

About the Author

Frances Timbers holds a PhD in British history from the University of Toronto (2008). She has a long-standing relationship with Trent University in Peterborough, Ontario, where she is a sessional lecturer. Her dissertation research was published as *Magic and Masculinity: Ritual Magic and Gender in the Early Modern Era* (I. B. Taurus, 2014). An essay entitled “Mary Squires: A Case Study in Constructing Gypsy Identity in Eighteenth-Century England” was included in *Worth and Repute: Valuing Gender in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2011). Timbers also has two peer-reviewed articles: “Witches’ Sect or Prayer Meeting? Matthew Hopkins Revisited” in *Women’s History Review* (2008), and “Liminal Language: Boundaries of Magic and Honor in Early Modern Essex” in *Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft* (2007).

Timbers’ recent research examines English gypsies in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with the help of a two-year postdoctoral fellowship funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) at the University of Victoria, British Columbia. That research will be published in *‘The Damned Fraternitie’: Constructing Gypsy Identity in Early Modern England, 1500–1700* (Ashgate, 2016).